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Physical Characteristics

144 563 Anthropometric measurements made on 230 living adults have been forwarded to Dr. Harry L. Shapiro for analysis. About 25 individuals measured were of mixed blood; the remainder were full-blooded Pukapukans, an equal number of males and females. The amount of racial or of early interisland mixture is not great. Two Manihikian women, castaways, married and settled down on the island about 10 generations ago. Recent intermixture with whites is readily observed. There is no discrimination against or in favor of those of mixed blood. The average stature of Pukapukan men and women 142 is noticeably less than that observed for other Polynesian groups. Women are shorter than men. The presence of the epicanthic fold was noted in several individuals. The glabella is more prominent in men than in women. Face type seems to vary between a narrow, long face with a long nose and a wide face with a short, broad nose. It is possible that analysis will reveal two physical types based on these distinctions. Lips in general are thin or medium thick. The hair is black; low and medium waves are common. Body hair is scanty on both sexes. Skin color is a light brown which becomes very dark on prolonged exposure to the sun. The skin color of infants is extremely fair.

Motor Habits

516 Little sex differentiation was observed in motor habits. The common position in sitting is "turkish fashion". The legs are crossed with knees bent and resting on the inside portion of the sole of the foot, the outside edges of the feet resting on the ground. A common variation is to raise the right foot and rest it on top of the left knee. This is the position for all sedentary activities, whether mat plaiting, food preparation, sennit making, or simple rest. Only a man braiding sennit sits with outstretched legs; he loops the free end of the sennit round the toe of an extended foot to obtain a tension on the cord.

481 [164] The bent-knee gait is common in walking. Apart from individual walking habits due to previous yaws infection of feet and legs, the common habit is to walk with the palms hanging at the side and turned inward, the toes pointing straight ahead. Running and jumping habits seem to be similar to those of the ordinary unskilled white person. Children crawl on hands and knees and on hands and feet.

513 192 Both sexes lie and sleep (*moe*) in a wide variety of positions, on the side, prone, or supine. The Pukapukan distinguishes by descriptive names more than thirty-five different types of sleep according to position, movements during sleep, and soundness of sleep. The amount of sleep for adults varies from 4 to 8 hours each night, sometimes with an hour or more of extra sleep during the day. Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children

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857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

413 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
526 when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
224 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

581 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pele* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo matuga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke.

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[342] adapted to withstand the fierce gales from the northwest that strike this exposed beach with full force.

341 335 Model house combining features from both the *wale wukayamoa* and the *wale atua* types. This house has five wall posts on either side, two wall plates, and six tiebeams, which project beyond the end of the wall plates and support two roof plates. There are four ridgeposts, one on the inside of each of the end tiebeams and one on the outer sides of the third and fourth tiebeams. Eight principal rafters on each side run from the roof plates and cross above the main ridgepole to support a rafter ridgepole (*tau lua*). There are two purlins on either side, an eaves purlin and a midway purlin. The midway purlin on one side is narrower than that on the other side. In order to keep the thatch rafters on both sides equidistant from the principal rafters, the narrower purlin is given additional width by chocks (*seiuei*) inserted between purlin and rafters. Thatch rafters run on the outside of the purlins. At the top, they support on the under side a third ridgepole (or a thatch rafter ridgepole), *tautolo*, which is separated from the rafter ridgepole by chocks (*seiuei*) but is lashed to the thatch rafters. On top of the crossed thatch rafters is laid a fourth ridgepole (or thatch ridgepole), *sia momoli* (fig.11,*b*). At the bottom, the thatch rafters support a thatch eaves purlin.

At each gable end, end wall plates (or additional tiebeams) are lashed at each end to the ends of the side wall plates. The principal end rafters are fastened at the top to the second side rafters, all save the center end rafter which is fastened to the main ridgepole between the second and third side rafters. At their lower ends, the end rafters are lashed to the end wall plate, but project downward and beyond this to support an end eaves purlin, which is itself fastened at each end to the side eaves purlins. The end wall plates are braced by two struts (*yoku*) which are lashed to the two outer tiebeams and project far enough to be lashed to the end wall plates. The end thatch rafters run on the outside of the end eaves purlins to the first rafter on either side. On the bottom outside of the end thatch rafters is lashed a thatch rafter eaves purlin, which is itself joined at each end to the side thatch rafter eaves purlins. The ridgepole is further strengthened by two diagonal braces (*yoku*), each brace running from the middle of the third tiebeam (counting from each end) to the main ridgepole, and lashed to both tiebeam and ridgepole.

341 335 284 The lashings of this house conform to Pukapukan pattern. The central principal rafters and the diagonal braces, which both lie against the main ridgepole obliquely, are lashed to the ridgepole by four transverse turns which are themselves tightened by three circumferential turns (*yinus nukapoku*). The first and second ridgepoles and again the third and fourth ridgepoles are braced against each other by five transverse turns of sennit which are made taut by three or four circumferential turns, thus forming a suspended loop lashing (*yinus uakauua*; fig.10,*b*).

341 335 The variations in this model *wale atua* type house bring it close in type to the *wukayamoa* house, the only distinction being the use of ridgeposts in the model and the heavier construction of the roof framework. It was suggested by informants that the reason for projecting the tiebeams beyond the level of the wall plates, and then adding —of necessity—roof plates to support the principal rafters, is to protect wall posts of pandanus from exposure to the weather. By projecting the tiebeams a sufficient distance (from 12 to 18 inches), low eaves would give ample protection to the wall posts, especially if thin poles are run between the ends of the tiebeams and the ground to support wall sheets. If these poles rot, they can be replaced easily, but it is difficult to replace main wall posts without pulling down and rebuilding the roof framework.

House Furnishings

352 573 Furnishings of the Pukapukan house are of the simplest kind. People sleep on coconut leaf and pandanus sleeping mats laid on the coral pebble floor or on wooden platforms. When not in use, mats are rolled (*tapulu*)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tuluma*, p. 134) for valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga laukowe*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga lakou*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

Wooden back rests (*teke*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former times. Made of *makonese* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uesu*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*namu*) become vicious:

These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*vaivaele*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*vaivaele tuamio*, Ch195) is made of midribs (*tua*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*lito*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *lito* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*vakapona*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tupetupe*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*vaalimali*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*vaivaele vaale*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *ngangie* wood about 4 foot long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of sennit, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common,

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in scraping shell (*vaiayi*, *Nerita polita*) a little to left of apical whorl; four lashing turns of fine three-ply sennit braid (3) pass from handle through shell (2) where commencement end is buried, lashing continues with 16 transverse turns around distal end of handle (4); finishing of lashing buried beneath last turns; at proximal end a thin cord (7) of twisted *uso* fiber is attached so that the scraper may be hung up; two notches (5, 6) cut in handle; the two plies of *uso* cord lapped about notch (5) and fastened with figure-of-eight turns of fine, two-ply twisted sennit which pass around handle and between two notches; free end of sennit seized (8) around *uso* cord and finishing end buried. *b*, coconut stand grater (*tuai*) (C8106): clam-shell grater (1) mounted on wooden stand (2) cut from solid block of *uvitau* wood; horizontal base 1 foot 10⅜ inches long, 4½ inches wide at proximal end, and 2 inches thick; two triangular notches cut into proximal end said to be old form of ornament; oblique arm (3) 7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; angle (4) at which arm leaves horizontal base obtuse, under side (5) shaped and rounded off slightly; distal end of oblique arm (6) slotted for depth of 2 inches and concave so that convex outer surface of shell grater fits securely against arm; a piece of cork (7) fitted against inner concave surface of shell grater; lashing of three-ply braided sennit (8) applied over cork and around arm; lashing consists of 24 turns with buried commencement, and under normal conditions finishing end would also be buried, but in this grater free end is not cut off flush with transverse turns but is knotted and left free (9) so that grater may be hung up by free end. *c*, back rest (*teke*) cut from solid block of *vaikauvau* wood (C8161): 1, four-sided stand 8¾ inches high at back and 5¾ inches high at front, sides about 2½ inches wide; 2, main backrest, surface of which has slight transverse and longitudinal concavity, 2 feet 3½ inches long, 9½ inches wide, and ¾ inch thick at edges; continued by horizontal extension rest (3) 4 inches long, ¾ inch thick at sides; 4, end resting on ground has bevel 1½ inches wide; 5, under surfaces of horizontal extension (3) shaped obliquely, coming together in short mesial longitudinal ridge 1¾ inches high. *d*, wooden headrest (*ulunga lakau*) (C8184); roughly cut from single block of *puapua* wood: 1, pillow section 1 foot 7 inches long, 5 inches wide, and 2¾ inches thick; 2, four legs, each 2½ inches high, 3¼ inches wide, and 2 inches thick; 3, slight flare at base of right front leg due to unskilled workmanship and not to design.

Furnishings of Pukapukan houses today include little that is modern. Occasionally one sees a European chair. Most houses have wooden chests or suitcases in which clothes are kept. European mosquito nets are in common use, and several houses proudly display antique sewing machines. Beyond these few articles and bundles of mats, the house interiors are generally quite bare.

FOOD UTENSILS

To harvest and husk coconuts, the climbing bandage (p. 146), husking stick, and carrying pole are used. The husking stick (*koyo*, C8049) of *ngangie* wood is driven into the ground for two thirds of its length. Informants were sure that the short stick was the only type used formerly, the worker kneeling or squatting on the ground to husk. Today, a much longer stick is generally used, the husker standing and bending over the stick. The carrying pole (*amo*) is a convenient length of coconut leaf midrib on which a nick is made at each end. Pairs of nuts are slung over the pole, the

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SATCHELS, BELTS, PILLOWS

Satchels of pandanus are used today in Pukapuka to carry to church on Sunday a Bible and note paper with which the sermon is followed and text noted down. The making of these satchels has been introduced from the lower Cook Islands, and the craft conforms in all particulars to satchel techniques described for Manihiki and Aitutaki (29, pp. 127-131; 26, pp. 190-202). Coiled baskets are sometimes made, but the technique has been recently introduced from Samoa by the wife of the resident agent.

A two-cornered pandanus double, or envelope, satchel called *tuluma* is thought by informants to be old. Small *tuluma* such as the one described below were used for storing fishhooks and pearl-shell ornaments. They were known as *po tuluma*, and a specially valuable pearl-shell hook was known as *muli tuluma*, (the precious object) after the bottom of the *tuluma* receptacle. Larger *tuluma* were made for the storage of pandanus and sennit malos. The *po tuluma* (C8120) is made of *lauuala pakapaka* and *lito* materials:

The inner satchel is 9¼ inches long, 7⅛ inches deep and 1 inch wide. The outer satchel is 9⅛ inches long, 6¼ inches deep and 1⅝ inches wide. The plaiting is coarse, wefts being 3 to the inch. The plaiting is in check, with double elements, alternate sets of elements being dried pandanus and *lito*. The basket is plaited like a strip of mat, the ends brought together and the free marginal wefts plaited to make a cuff plaited in sections to the required depth. The sides are brought together to compress the bottom opening longitudinally; the bottom is closed by check plaiting. The free ends of the finishing wefts are pushed (*yuiu*) under three or more elements in the plaiting on the outside of the satchel, pulled tight, and the exposed ends cut off flush with crossing elements. The rim is finished with a level edge by the downward turn of the rim elements.

Abdominal belt supports worn by women after confinement are made of plaited pandanus:

Belt C8072 (*pale mamaua*) is 1 foot 11 inches long, 4 inches wide. Strings by which the belt is fastened at the back range from 8¾ to 10½ inches long. Wefts 6 to the inch. Plaiting is by the simple mat technique in double element check, with *lauuala pakapaka* and *lito* used as crossing elements to form a small diamond-shaped design. When the belt length is finished, material for the strings is pushed through under seven to nine crossing elements at each corner. Four strings are thus attached to each corner and braided into a four-ply braid, finished off with a single overhand knot.

Belt C8073 (*pale tata*) is 2 feet long, 3 inches wide. Strings range from 8 to 13½ inches long. Wefts 4 to the inch. Plaiting is with double element check of *lauuala pakapaka* and *lito*, forming a simple diamond design. Three string elements are pushed under crossing elements at each corner and braided into a three-ply braid, finished with a single overhand knot. Both belts are shorter than they would be if intended for use by Pukapukan women.

Informant stated that formerly a pillow or headrest (*ulunga lauhauua*) was made from plaited pandanus material. As described, the pillow was apparently cylindrical in shape, 12 inches long and 6 inches in diameter at

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285' 313 either end. A hollow cylinder was made and stuffed with banana leaves (*lau wasi*) or coconut husk fiber (*lau kaava*). The technique by which this pillow was made has been forgotten, for no woman professed herself able to make the article. Yielding to my suggestion that someone experiment, two pillows were made, but neither conforms to informants' description.

Pillow C82a has a four-cornered cover 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide and 2½ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of *lito* material. Wefts 3 to the inch. The technique is that of ordinary mat plaiting, plaited in the modern way around a wooden block. The oblong cover is stuffed with coconut fiber and closed by passing finishing wefts under adjacent plaited elements.

Pillow C82b is also four-cornered, 11 inches long, 5 inches deep, and 2½ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of mixed *lauvasi pukapuka* and *lito*. Wefts 2 to the inch. The cover is stuffed with banana leaves.

285 291 177 Hats of European style are made of pandanus materials or prepared coconut fiber. They are of the Panama type, either plain or decorated by change of plaiting stroke or by overlaid strips of red-dyed materials. They are worn as protection against sun and as part of the church-going costume. No head covering or eyeshade of pandanus or coconut leaf was made in former times.

Coconut-leaf Articles

Mats and Sheets

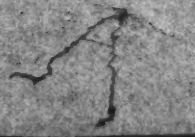
285 [171] The technique of making the Pukapukan coconut roof sheets, roof ridging sheets, and wall screens follows exactly the Samoan technique (27, pp. 169, 174, 176; cf. 26, pp. 7, 24).

Pukapukan coconut leaf mats in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list given on page 136.

Baskets

Plaited coconut baskets (generic name, *ala*) are made with two different commencements—the twisted, two-strip commencement (29, p. 107, fig. 25) and the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement.

In the twisted two-strip commencement, the leaflets of each strip, following their natural direction, are twisted over the leaflets immediately in front. Two strips carrying leaflets are placed together, the dextral-bearing strip above the other strip. To make the plaiting close and neat, one or more extra leaflets are added as extra wefts by placing the butt end between two middle strips forming the commencement. This is the two-strip commencement with extra wefts which corresponds to the Tongarevan technique (28, pp. 127, 133, figs. 14, 17). The plaiting of the body of the baskets is in twill. At the bottom are a few rows of check, the size of the basket being made smaller by superimposing two alternate dextrals or two alternate sinistrals and plaiting the two elements as a single element. The baskets are finished with a braid.



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a wealding, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six *uto* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household. Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 41, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by infor-

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immediately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record detailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

192 826 Names for the teeth are the same for upper and lower jaws:

wisdom tooth	ngao tautawa
first molar	te lua o te ngao
second molar	te ngao o te lolotonu
bicuspid	te ngao openga
canine	te ngao nio
incisor	te nio
two front upper incisors	te nio pala ta
upper set of teeth	atu ngao ki lunga
lower set of teeth	atu ngao ki lalo
milk teeth	te ngao tamaliki

192 833 III. Miscellaneous sexual terms:

839

sexual excitement	waka mitamita
cunilingualism	kai tole
fellatio	kai ule
berdache	wakawawine (descriptive)
buggery	tokotoko
masturbation	mulimuli ..... to rub organs is milimili

192 513 IV. Types of sleep:

itching or scratching sleep	moe kinikini
bad sleep or nightmare	moe kino
restless sleep (as of a pregnant woman)	moe kinokino
to sleep on the side with legs folded over each other	moe kokopi
to sleep curled up	moe wakakukukuku
good deep sleep	moe leka
day-dreaming	moe manatu
to sleep with one eye open	moe mata tai
to sleep anxiously dreaming of the morrow	moe wakamiti
to sleep sitting up	moe no
to sleep close to another person	moe wakapipiki
to sleep hugging another person	moe pulupulu

192	very deep sleep	moe nanau
513	to doze	moe wakatalianga
	to sleep standing	moe tu
	restless sleep	moe tuitui
	to sleep with head on knee	moe tulivae
	to walk in sleep	moe yaele
	to sleep on side with legs outstretched	moe yayae
	to sleep with arms against the sides (like a corpse)	moe yayako
	to sleep badly because of physical pain	moe yoya
	to sleep with eyes open	moe yiyila
	the sleep of a pregnant woman after unsatisfying intercourse with her husband which may cause a miscarriage	moe yuayua
	to become possessed by a ghost during sleep	moe uluia
	to pretend to be asleep	moe wayiyila
	to move arms during sleep	moe wawa
	to sleep with one leg wound round another person	moe wakawiwi
	to be too excited to sleep	moe wawangu
	to sleep with legs spread apart	moe wewela
	to turn from side to side in sleep	moe witi
	fitful spasmodic sleep	moe wowowowo
	to turn over on side during sleep	moe wuli kaokao
	to sleep lying on the stomach	moe wuli pulou
	to sleep lying on the back	moe wuli vakevake
	to groan or talk in sleep	moe wunga